

“Your Country Needs You!”: Masculinity and World War I Recruitment Posters in

Britain

An Honors Thesis (HONR 499)

by

Atalie Klumpp

Thesis Advisor

Dr. Carolyn Malone

Ball State University

Muncie, Indiana

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Abstract

At the start of World War I, Britain needed to raise an army. The government established the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) to sponsor a campaign to convince men to join the military. A major part of the PRC's recruitment effort was the creation of a series of recruitment posters. Many of these posters appealed directly to contemporary notions of masculinity. The analysis of these ideas and how they were developed in young British men makes it easy to understand how the themes were used in recruitment posters and why they were effective in getting men to enlist. This thesis seeks to identify the contemporary ideals of masculinity; describe how they were presented to boys and young men via popular media, youth groups, and games; and discuss how they were used in recruitment posters to encourage British men to join the army.

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Process Analysis Statement

This thesis has its roots in Dr. Malone's HIST 476: Britain, 1760 to the Present course. During our class discussion of the World Wars, we looked at several posters that were distributed across the country. Not all of these were recruitment posters; some encouraged changes in consumer habits or asked for women to work in munitions factories. Regardless of their subject matter, the posters fascinated me. The recruitment posters, however, were of the most interest. As someone whose main area of interest coming into college was American history, I connected the poster featuring Lord Kitchener to our own Uncle Sam poster here in the U.S. This resemblance between the two posters sparked my interest and made me want to study the poster campaign more in-depth. I wanted to learn more about why the campaign was so important in the larger context of the early years of World War I. After some one-on-one discussion with Dr. Malone, I decided to focus on contemporary ideas of masculinity and how those ideas were used to appeal to potential recruits. I examined the connections between the ideology of the time and the posters, placing them in the historical context.

The research process for this thesis was rather lengthy. Dr. Malone recommended several books and articles that she believed would be helpful in researching this topic, and I found many more quality sources at Bracken Library and via OneSearch and Google Scholar. In the end, I read dozens of books and articles, most of which I ended up citing in my final draft. Some of these works discussed the composition and production of recruitment posters. However, a larger number of them focused on views of masculinity and how those ideals were portrayed in popular media of the decades leading up to World War I. I consulted some of the most prominent experts in these fields, such

as J.A. Mangan, Jessica Meyer, John Tosh, and John Springhall. Meyer's and Tosh's works dealt primarily with contemporary values and ideas about masculinity, while Mangan's and Springhall's focused on the ways in which these ideas were disseminated to boys and young men through sports, school, and literature. I found themes that kept appearing throughout the works I read and connected them to the themes I had seen in the posters we studied in Dr. Malone's class. Jim Aulich and John Hewitt's book *Seduction or Instruction? First World War Posters in Britain and Europe* was especially helpful in writing this thesis. In this book, Aulich and Hewitt discussed the details of the poster campaign, from the scope of the campaign to the composition of the posters. I drew from this work frequently and was able to find connections between Aulich and Hewitt's research and many of the other pieces I read; their evidence supported the wider historical argument of the appeals to contemporary masculinity in recruitment posters. It was an inspirational work that helped shape the rest of my research.

While reading, I took notes and made sure to highlight or underline quotes that I could be used in my paper. When I finished reading a book or article, I would write a note at the beginning summarizing which parts of the work were especially full of useful material. This process made it a lot easier to write the various sections of this thesis. In many cases, a good chunk of time had elapsed between when I had read an article or book on a certain topic and when I wrote the section on that topic. The notes I took prevented me from having to re-read entire books and articles.

The most difficult part of the process of writing this thesis was deciding which posters to cite. Throughout the course of the recruitment campaign, hundreds of designs were produced. Posters appeared not only in Britain but also throughout its vast empire.

For a project of this length, I chose to look only at posters produced in Britain. There are a few posters from Ireland included, but because Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom at the time I decided to utilize those, as well. I found the posters in books as well as on the Imperial War Museum website. My initial research included close to 40 of the most common posters. I asked myself a number of questions to help guide my study of the posters. Who is the main focus of the poster – perhaps a soldier, a father, or a woman? Who is being addressed? How are the people in the image dressed? What words, if any, are emphasized on the poster? Are any words underlined or in a bigger font? What is in the foreground and background of the image? What similarities are there between this poster and other posters from the campaign? I studied the posters and searched for recurrent images, language, and themes. With this approach, I constructed my argument and wrote this thesis. I have written about posters that reflected the recurrent images, language, and themes that I have identified.

My research process was similar to that of most historians. The first step in the historical research process is typically to formulate an idea based on prior knowledge and trends one has seen in preliminary research. In my case, I formed my argument based on a sampling of recruitment posters and our class discussion in HIST 476. The next step after hypothesizing is to conduct research into a wider sample of primary sources. A historian must always place primary sources – such as the recruitment posters – in the proper historical context. One can then come to conclusions as to whether or not their theory was correct, which I have done in this thesis.

The analysis of the posters was also a bit difficult for me. I had done some very basic image analysis before, in class, but for this project I had to dig deeper. I had to

constantly push myself to think harder about the underlying messages in each poster. I found patterns in the sorts of images and especially the words that were used on the posters. As a history major, I am used to analyzing textual sources to form an argument about a historical event. However, this thesis required me to critically analyze visual sources instead, which was out of the ordinary for me. Doing this analysis pushed me out of my comfort zone and forced me to think in a different way than I normally do. Rather than thinking chronologically as we often do in the field of history, I was forced to think thematically. As a result, this thesis is vastly different from a traditional historical narrative.

This thesis gave me an excellent opportunity to examine both primary and secondary sources. After analyzing so many primary sources, I feel much more confident in my abilities as a historian. I feel that I am now much better at contextualizing primary sources within the events and attitudes of the time period in which they were created. I also have a better understanding of how to effectively engage primary and secondary sources together in one paper; in the past I felt that I relied too heavily on one type of source or the other, but now I am more confident in my ability to utilize both in a complementary way. I also think this project gave me a better understanding of what to look for when trying to develop an argument based on historical evidence. In addition to helping me grow as a historian, I feel that the trials of writing and re-writing sections of this paper helped me become a better writer and researcher. I have learned how to write in a much more succinct and straightforward manner. I learned a lot about myself and my own research process through writing this paper, as well as many lessons that I will

remember for any future research papers I may write. I hope that others are able to learn from my thesis and find the subject matter as interesting as I did.

Introduction

When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, Britain needed to build up its military quickly. It was the only major European power that did not have a large conscript army at the ready, despite the fact that “many prominent figures had been pressing for compulsory military service since the first Boer War” in the 1880s.¹ This war had proven that Britain’s existing army could not adequately handle the most minor of conflicts.² Additionally, Britain had historically been more reliant on its navy than its army, though the army’s importance to British strategy had grown in the decades leading up to World War I.³ But with the outbreak of the Great War, it was imperative that Britain substantially raise the number of men serving in its army.

Unlike many other prominent figures in the British government, Lord Kitchener – Britain’s Secretary of State for War – knew the conflict would not be brief; while a great deal of the population said it would be over by Christmas 1914, he believed the war would last at least three years and would require an army of about a million men.⁴ However, the government did not want to introduce conscription – it wanted to continue its long-standing policy of relying on volunteers for the army. Thus, Kitchener made the call for volunteers at the outset of the war. In order to build up the British army, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) was created to formulate recruiting tools. The PRC – launched on August 27, 1914 – was described by British historian Alan G.V. Simmonds as

essentially an apolitical body with a mission to invigorate the recruitment campaign by employing the resources and expertise of the constituency organizations of the main political parties in a drive to persuade, cajole, browbeat, harangue, and humiliate men into joining the army.⁵

The PRC's goal was to get sufficient numbers of men to volunteer to fight, so as to not require the institution of conscription. It undertook a number of recruitment activities in an effort to encourage young men to volunteer.

A significant portion of the PRC's work was in the form of recruitment meetings. A variety of different approaches to meetings were taken. It was said that cinema shows had been somewhat successful in London, and it was decided that they should be used in the provinces, as well.⁶ Other meetings were disguised as music hall concerts, with performances by famous performers such as comedian Harry Lauder and singers Vesta Tilley and Edith Bracewell.⁷ Open-air meetings were also successful in London, spurring more meetings of this type to be held.⁸ Meetings were extremely patriotic affairs, often featuring marches and military bands. They typically featured at least one speaker, though many meetings featured several speakers. Early on in 1915, it was said that over 3,000 recruitment meetings had been held and more than 6,000 speakers had spoken at them.⁹ These speakers included prominent figures such as actresses, musicians, and even Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). By the end of the war, the PRC had organized about 12,000 recruitment meetings across the country.¹⁰

Despite its large role in organizing meetings, speeches, and performances, the PRC's primary recruitment activity was its poster campaign. Lord Kitchener's face appeared on the first recruitment poster; a barrage of posters soon followed. The earliest poster campaign was launched in September 1914 and by March 1915, the PRC had produced 2 million posters – and by the end of the war, 5.7 million.¹¹ Posters were an effective recruiting tool because they could be produced cheaply and quickly and be

posted in any public space for all to see. They were also a familiar part of the consumer culture that had developed in Britain. People were used to seeing frequent advertisements for consumer goods; now, in a sense, they were seeing advertisements for war. The PRC employed professional advertisers to design posters that emphasized the urgent need for recruits. They incorporated ideas related to the social construction of masculinity that had developed throughout the nineteenth century. These ideas were inherently associated with the middle classes but they had become part of the overall culture of Britain. Men of all social classes aspired to these ideals whether or not they could achieve them.

Contemporary conceptions of masculinity centered on the male as physically fit, the breadwinner and protector of his family, and a loyal servant to his country. These ideas were prevalent in everyday life, and the PRC used that to its advantage.

The campaign to recruit men for the British army was a major development in 1914 and 1915. Though the campaign was spearheaded by the PRC, the government relied heavily on civilian involvement in this vital endeavor. As a result, the PRC's recruiting efforts were supplemented by a number of smaller organizations with the same goal of getting men to enlist. For instance, the Imperial Maritime League held a thousand recruitment meetings in rural areas during the first half of 1915.¹² The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies utilized its "large and well-organized resources" to help Britain through wartime.¹³ Other groups, such as The Order of the White Feather, went directly to shaming men into enlisting. Founded by Admiral Charles Penrose in August 1914, The Order of the White Feather was comprised of women who would hand a white feather to any man who walked the streets and was not in uniform.¹⁴ Their actions began in Folkstone, and Fitzgerald warned the men of the town,

“there is a danger awaiting them far more terrible than anything they can meet in battle,” for if they were found “idling and loafing to-morrow” they would be publicly humiliated by a lady with a white feather.¹⁵

Soon the practice was imitated by women across the country. Men did not want to be seen as cowards who stood idly by while other men fought for Britain in their place. Though such activities were not sponsored by the PRC, they were still rather effective in encouraging men to enlist. They were just a small fraction of the public’s participation in recruitment efforts.

Historians have been very interested in this recruitment campaign, in which an unprecedented number of men – nearly 2.5 million – responded to their nation’s call. They have, in particular, analyzed recruitment posters as part of their efforts to better understand volunteerism for the British army. Their analysis of these posters provides insight into the values and ideals of the time period, especially contemporary ideas regarding masculinity. Some historians have attempted to assess the impact of these posters on enlistment, but they have reached different conclusions on this subject. For this thesis, I have read scholarship on both the social construction of masculinity and recruitment posters. I have reviewed a sampling of posters and identified a number of recurring themes within them. The themes of duty, protection, physical fitness, and militarism appear frequently, reflecting the common conceptions about masculinity that were prevalent at the time. My analysis illustrates a significant connection between the contemporary views of masculinity and the language and imagery presented in the posters.

Views of Masculinity Prior to World War I

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several components to the contemporary views about masculinity. First of all, a man was to be the breadwinner of his family. During the nineteenth century, there became “an increasing self-consciousness about occupation,” and masculinity was connected more than ever to “a notion of paid, productive work.”¹⁶ At this time, the middle-classes adhered to what was known as “separate spheres” ideology. This ideology was instilled in boys during their school years; manliness was “fashioned at school for the public sphere, irrelevant to home and family.”¹⁷ Men dominated the worlds of work and politics, while women remained in the domestic world, raising children and keeping the home. Because more families were living in the suburbs, men no longer lived near their workplaces and were farther from the home during the work day. Unemployment did occur and likely led to “a sense of ‘incompleteness’ and shame as men and to a loss of dignity which could not be contemplated.”¹⁸ Masculinity meant earning a family wage and working hard.

During this era, as one could infer based on the aforementioned separate spheres ideology of the middle classes, men were not overly involved in family life. They often experienced it “in only very brief instalments.”¹⁹ In Victorian society, fathers were typically present at their children’s births but “took little interest in the rearing of infants” despite taking time to play with older children.²⁰ However, despite a man’s relatively small domestic role in the everyday lives of his family, he still needed to serve as their protector. On the surface, this meant that he should keep them from being physically harmed. However, it also meant that he should protect his family’s interests in a less literal sense. For example, “physical force” Chartists of the mid-nineteenth century believed that “the role of the plebeian activist was not to instruct his family at home, but

to defend their interests, with his fists, on the street."²¹ A man, then, was to do whatever it took to make sure his family's interests were safe. Though the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas of masculinity were not overly concerned with domesticity, the notion of men as providers and protectors was strong.

A man also had a duty to protect his country and the British Empire as a whole. The "manly Christian" of the time was to embrace somewhat medieval, chivalrous values; his body was to be "used for the protection of the weak" and "the advancement of all righteous causes."²² In other words, a man was meant to protect Britain, its empire, and all the civilians within it. He was supposed to do his part to advance the most righteous of causes – Britain's. But a "real" man should not only fight on behalf of Britain; he should also fight on behalf of those who were not strong enough to do it themselves. The British believed in the humanitarian ideal of defending the underdog.²³ If a man were truly a man, he would step up and defend a nation that could not defend itself. Providing humanitarian assistance was part of society's view of appropriate masculinity.

Loyalty was an important quality of a masculine man, especially one who hoped to become a military officer. Boys often developed this quality by playing team sports; such activities taught them to put the group's interests before their personal ones.²⁴ Once loyalty to a team was established, it could easily be transferred to an army regiment. Loyalty was also instinctive. Men did not question why they should be loyal to the British Empire – they simply *were*.²⁵ In the sporting world, the definition of manliness was also connected to "the ideal of service to the community," which translated to service to the country.²⁶ Once again, fighting on behalf of the British Crown was not a real choice – it

was one's duty as a young man. To avoid fighting for Britain would mean acknowledging one's lack of masculinity.

Perhaps most importantly, masculinity was inherently connected to militarism and imperialism. By the end of the century, the British Empire spanned the globe; it was known as "the empire on which the sun never sets" for this reason. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the military went from being viewed as vicious to being thought of as virtuous.²⁷ In colonial Africa, for instance, Britain's use of force was seen as a positive, as the British were there to "civilize" its African subjects. It was thought that Britain should use any means necessary to "raise" Africans. Growing intolerance for civilian violence within Britain also sparked a greater willingness to use "more destructive military forces abroad in behalf of the ideals of pacification and civilization that the state was now enforcing at home."²⁸ Some of the appeal of empire was due to the fact that it "represented an unequivocal assertion of masculinity."²⁹ Men wanted to control the empire to proclaim their dominance and, consequently, their manliness.

Development of Masculinity in Young Men, 1870-1914

Boys were indoctrinated to believe these notions of "ideal" masculinity from a young age. They were the future of Britain and thus needed to know what was considered "appropriate behavior" for a good British man. Boys were socialized in a manner that constantly promoted masculine ideals, whether at home or at school. First, they read literature – which was written specifically with them in mind – that promoted the idealized version of masculinity. In contemporary children's literature, the soldier was seen as "the epitome of...appropriate masculinity."³⁰ Soldiers were the heroes of these

stories, and reading these books made boys think that if they become soldiers, they could be heroes too. Soldier heroes, along with imperial adventurers, were the characters that represented “idealised masculinity” in Victorian society.³¹ Therefore, boys thought that if they became soldiers, they would attain that ideal masculinity. Through the books they read, boys were primed for a potential role in the military from a young age.

Moreover, reading the contemporary youth literature further indoctrinated boys and young men into believing in the morality of empire. Building an empire was the moral thing to do; the British needed to “Christianize the pagan[s] and civilize the savage[s]” who lived in the areas they would later conquer.³² Doing so would require great military might. The heroes of the popular stories of empire were “essentially militaristic and were used to seduce the young into appropriate attitudes and actions.”³³ The stories provided role models for boys, or an ideal for them to attain. If they acted like the men in the books they were reading, they would not only be heroes of the empire but also the manliest of men. Because every man’s goal was to achieve ideal masculinity, they tried their best to follow the example set forth in the imperial novels they read as children.

Furthermore, war was increasingly glorified in these novels toward the end of the nineteenth century. Victorian authors such as G.A. Henty, as well as other authors who were later inspired by them, portrayed warfare “as an arena in which boys could...achieve the status of men.”³⁴ Henty in particular became known for his “preference for killing rather than wounding” in his stories; the violence in his stories was “cool [and] casual,” the nationalism aggressive.³⁵ He believed in “a British national identity – a collective ethos formed of courage, clear-headedness, and ‘pluck’;” their

inherent Britishness would allow young boys to go anywhere in the world and survive.³⁶

The empire served as “a ritualistic theatre of war” in Henty’s tales.³⁷ In his and other novels of the time, imperial wars were viewed as a rite of passage into manhood.

According to historian W.J. Reader, contemporary boys’ literature presented a

gentleman’s view of war, war seen neither as politics not as a manifestation of the will of God, but simply as the most testing, the most exciting, the most honourable of field-sports, and field-sports, especially hunting, had for centuries made up a large part, if not the main part, of the lives of the gentlemen of England.³⁸

The stories detailed the joy a man would feel after participating in a battle, the “true sense of glory” after fighting an enemy.³⁹ The tales made it appear as though fighting on behalf of Britain was just part of being a man, though a very fun and exciting one.

Adventure was common in boys’ literature of the time. Both novels and periodicals satisfied boys’ thirst for stories of adventure and empire. Henty wrote dozens of adventure novels, including *Out on the Pampas*, which detailed a group of young Englishmen’s journey to the Argentine with their family, and *In Times of Peril: A Tale of India*, which included a number of important scenes including the massacre of Cawnpore and the siege of Lucknow. Meanwhile, Edwin J. Brett was one of the pioneers of the adventure journal. His *Boys of England* journal was read mainly by the lower middle classes.⁴⁰ *Boys of England* included tales of adventure, such as “Alone in the Pirate’s Lair” by Charles Stevens; stories such as these heightened boys’ desire to leave Britain and venture out into the world.⁴¹ In many stories, boys would finish school and then travel overseas – often as part of the army.⁴² Reading about characters that had similar everyday experiences as them – in school, for example – led boys to believe they could go on similar adventures if they joined the army.

Other periodicals – such as *The Boys' Own Magazine*, *Young England*, *Chatterbox*, *The Boy's Journal*, and *Every Boy's Magazine* – brought novels of war, sport, and adventure to the boys of Britain as early as the 1860s.⁴³ In the 1870s, *The Boys' Own Paper* gained prominence, employing some of the most famous adventure writers of the time and gaining the highest circulation of any boys' paper of the Victorian era.⁴⁴ *The Boys' Own Paper* “became ‘something of a national institution’ and...has been described ‘as the most important and influential children’s periodical ever to have appeared in Britain’.”⁴⁵ Many of the stories published in *B.O.P.* were set in the farthest corners of the empire, in far off lands of which British boys could only dream. In these “far-flung corners of the Empire,” native unrest was handled with “the application of ‘the glorious British upper-cut coupled with the glorious English maxim gun’.”⁴⁶ Setting their stories in exotic locations allowed writers to heighten the young readers’ desire for adventure. The British dominance displayed in their stories further glorified war and idealized the notion of fighting in far-off places.

There also existed a number of organizations that encouraged boys to prepare to become soldiers. The most prominent of these was the Boy Scouts, founded by Robert Baden-Powell in the early twentieth century. In creating this group, Baden-Powell hoped reach working-class youth. Unlike their middle-class counterparts, working-class boys were not exposed to patriotism and militarism every day at school. Baden-Powell wanted to ensure that working-class boys had the same knowledge of their duty to Britain that middle-class boys were receiving. The earliest Boy Scout handbook featured numerous chivalric images; after all, Baden-Powell had originally wished to call his group “The Young Knights of the Empire.”⁴⁷ Many historians believed that Baden-Powell’s goal in

creating the Boy Scouts was to create good future British citizens. However, historian John Springhall disagreed, stating that his goal was not to create good future citizens but to create good future soldiers; his primary motive was “to prepare the next generation of British soldiers for war and the defence of the Empire.”⁴⁸ The group’s motto, after all, was “Be prepared to die for your country if need be.”⁴⁹ Having served in the army in Africa, Baden-Powell formed the Boy Scouts to “serve as a form of national preparation or long-term insurance against the recrudescence of the political and military incompetence [he] came to identify with the Boer War.”⁵⁰ Though some citizenship-building activities were included in the earliest Boy Scout handbook, the primary focus of the organization was to train boys to become soldiers – and thus to become men.

In fact, Scout training was viewed as “providing a much better foundation than drill for the potential cadet or territorial recruit in his late teens.”⁵¹ Ideally, boys would start out as Boy Scouts during adolescence and then go on to become cadets in their teenage years. Baden-Powell began crafting his training scheme as early as December 1904, as demonstrated by a letter he wrote to the Eton College *Chronicle* at that time.⁵² Convinced that Britain would someday be attacked, Baden-Powell encouraged boys to learn “how to drill and to aim and shoot with a small rifle,” saying boys who could do so would be useful in the event of an attack.⁵³ Of course, a boy would want to be considered useful, especially in defending his King and Country. Playing a role in defending the nation’s honor in battle made a man a true man.

Sports also played a large role in shaping boys to fit the contemporary views of masculinity. The developers of modern sport saw their invention as “proof of their unflinching sense of superiority, as men, as Christians, as white people, and as masters of

the then-largest empire on the planet.”⁵⁴ Team games were a vital part of turning a boy into a man. As outlined previously, sports were a tool for promoting physical fitness among young men. Many of the boys and men who participated in sports were “motivated by the doctrine of muscular Christianity.”⁵⁵ This ideology placed the importance of athletic prowess over that of intellectual development. Victorians also thought that the health of the mind and that of the body were linked, and that looking after one’s body would lead to one’s will being strengthened.⁵⁶ Maintaining his physical fitness was the way for a boy to become a man. At universities in the late nineteenth century, team games were a large part of male students’ lives, partially due to the games’ physical demands. “Health, fitness, the development of muscles and of an athletic body were crucial elements” of the students’ ideas of masculinity.⁵⁷ Sports also brought with them a “considerable risk of injury” to the body, which made the men who played them appear more courageous and thus more masculine.⁵⁸ Ideally, a physically fit man would go on to fight on behalf of Britain, should the need arise.

Team sports also allowed boys to develop their leadership and soldiering skills. According to Loretto school headmaster H.H. Almond, war was simply “a higher form of athletic contest,” and thus sports were the best preparation for war.⁵⁹ The games ideology was not solely directed at the future soldier, but military values were certainly at its core.⁶⁰ Public schools especially stressed the patriotic and military value of the games played at school. Historian J.A. Mangan recognized the pervasiveness of this militaristic ideology. He wrote:

Certainly within the schools the majority scorned learning, derided the clever and enthusiastically supported the emphasis on games-playing. Anti-intellectualism, anti-industrialism and anti-commercialism were commonplace. The schools’ secular trinity was imperialism, militarism and athleticism.⁶¹

However, the association of the playing field and the battlefield was not limited to elite schools but was also prominent in popular culture.⁶² Sports allowed boys to develop traits such as “health, hardiness, self-discipline and pluck,” which were viewed as “essential for future colonial governors, as well as for officers in the colonial troops.”⁶³ By playing sports, they were not only becoming better athletes but also better future soldiers.

Additionally, sports further encouraged the already-pervasive separate spheres ideology. Women were not involved in sports, at least not alongside men. The world of sports was inherently a man’s world; it “push[ed] women to the sidelines,” particularly as more rules and regulations for sports were being established and the games became more formal.⁶⁴ By the 1870s, men began partaking in sports – as well as clubs and imperial service – in larger numbers as part of a “flight from domesticity.”⁶⁵ This movement was a direct result of worries regarding “the health of the race and the feminization of society.”⁶⁶ Men partook in sports to avoid becoming too feminine and domestic. Therefore, sports were inherently masculine, especially in the period leading up to World War I.

Football was particularly popular amongst schoolboys. Baden-Powell championed the sport in *Scouting for Boys*, claiming it to be an excellent method for physical and moral development.⁶⁷ Football, he claimed, taught boys how to be unselfish and keep a good temper.⁶⁸ However, he cautioned against large numbers of working-class males foregoing participation in the sport only to become spectators, as spectators were merely “loafers” and thus were not manly.⁶⁹ In fact, Baden-Powell even likened being a mere spectator to being an indifferent citizen and claimed that “indifferent citizenship is, and always has been, the progeny of indifferent government.”⁷⁰ He stated:

I yield to no one in enjoyment of the sight of those splendid specimens of our race, trained to perfection, and playing faultlessly; but my heart sickens at the reverse of the medal – thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow-chested, hunched-up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes, numbers of them betting, all of them learning to be hysterical as they groan or cheer in panic unison with their neighbours – the worst of all being the hysterical scream of laughter that greets any little trip or fall of a player. One wonders whether this can be the same nation which had gained for itself the reputation of being a stolid, pipe-sucking manhood, unmoved by panic or excitement, and reliance in the tightest of spaces.⁷¹

Football also appeared in contemporary boys' literature, attesting to its popularity. For example, a story entitled "My First Football Match" appeared in the first issue of *The Boys' Own Paper* in the 1870s.⁷² The sport provided a venue in which boys could show off their masculinity.

The school – particularly the public school – played a large role in developing young men's ideas about masculinity. Of course, school sports were a large part of forming this ideology, but schools did so in other ways, as well. Prior to the outbreak of the war, 150 schools and 20 universities in Britain had established Officer Training Corps.⁷³ These corps provided boys with basic military training, such as basic drill and handling a rifle.⁷⁴ Schools also pushed the military ideology that was already prevalent in contemporary society. The army knew, therefore, that officer recruits from public schools would have "a belief system relevant to military service."⁷⁵ Lastly, the school environment was roughly similar to military life, with its hierarchical structure, monasticism, austerity, and discipline.⁷⁶ Any boy who got his education from a public school should have been ready for a life of military service.

Literature, youth groups such as the Boy Scouts, team sports, and schools all played important roles in developing the contemporary ideals of masculinity in boys and young men. The themes and ideas emphasized through these various mediums were the

same ones portrayed in recruitment posters near the start of the war. The PRC's posters engaged the very same men who had been raised reading Henty's works or participating in the Boy Scouts. Appeals to a man's sense of his own masculinity, especially in comparison with the ideal masculinity, were successful in getting men to enlist.

The PRC and Appeals to Idealized Masculinity in Recruitment Posters

The PRC's campaign evolved over time, with poster designs changing to better reach its intended audience – that is, fit young men. According to Nigel Steel, head of the Imperial War Museum's Research and Information Department, the earliest posters of the campaign were predominantly factual, text-based posters.⁷⁷ They had been, according to historians Jim Aulich and John Hewitt, “a mixture of official document and proclamation,” telling men how they could volunteer at-length.⁷⁸ This type of poster was “more direct and urgent in its appeal and addressed the viewer.”⁷⁹ However, many Britons found these posters uninteresting; in some areas, these posters had a negative effect on public opinion.⁸⁰ Later posters therefore utilized more images and fewer words to grab the attention of potential recruits. Words were often printed in red or blue “in order to underscore the message and reinforce the patriotism of the appeal,” though the size of the type was more varied.⁸¹ “Daring imagery” and straightforward messages were used to succinctly inform men of the desperate need for soldiers and encourage them to join.⁸² This later group of posters, with few words and more images, was immensely more popular and effective than the earlier letterpress ones.

Advertisers played a key role in formulating the poster campaign. The men who were chosen to spearhead the creation of recruitment posters were not experienced

advertisers; they had little knowledge of the advertising trade and were thus “happy to ‘agree to whatever suggestions the trade put forward’.”⁸³ However, the campaign did employ numerous experienced advertisers who knew how to craft the perfect posters to heighten public interest in voluntary enlistment. The PRC opted to employ a number of commercial printing houses to develop the posters rather than using just one.⁸⁴ The influence of the advertising industry is evident in the style of the posters, which was “strongly figurative, anecdotal or sentimental and derived from popular illustration and commercial advertising.”⁸⁵ The phenomenon of advertisers allying with national interests was not a new one, as advertisers had long been known to use major national events – such as Queen Victoria’s Jubilees or the Boer War – to sell products.⁸⁶ The next step for advertisers, then, was to sell war through their works.

PRC posters came in a variety of shapes and sizes. The majority of the posters produced by the PRC were single sheet, 20 inches by 30 inches, which was considerably smaller than the typical 16-sheet and 32-sheet commercial bills of the time.⁸⁷ Smaller posters were perfect for small commercial premises and both the interiors and exteriors of public buildings.⁸⁸ However, larger ones were still used, primarily as centerpieces for recruitment and fundraising rallies as well as being “placed on advertising hoardings in public spaces to great effect.”⁸⁹ Posters were “the ideal tool for mass communication in a time of war,” as arts writer Rosalind Ormiston noted.⁹⁰ They were easy to distribute and could reach a wide audience due to their ability to be posted anywhere in the country.

The PRC utilized themes of masculinity and what it meant to be a man in early twentieth century Britain. The campaign drew from the ideals of manliness that were defined by members of the middle classes. However, these values were not solely

middle-class ones; members of the working class viewed the ideal man in the same way, though they were less likely to be able to achieve that ideal. Many of the same themes regarding masculinity kept popping up in design after design. Repetition was key, as it helped get the point across and underscored the sense of urgency that the British government felt in needing to recruit soldiers. The designs of the various posters displayed these themes in a concise, easy-to-understand manner and stressed the importance of voluntarily enlisting, regardless of one's reasoning for doing so.

A man's duty to serve Britain during wartime was one of the most prominent themes found in the PRC's posters. The first – and perhaps most famous – of these centered on Lord Kitchener, who pointed a finger and exclaimed, “Your country needs YOU!” as seen in Poster 1.⁹¹

Kitchener was a celebrated war hero who had fought during the recent colonial conflicts in Africa.⁹² In fact, he was the architect of famous victories in Sudan and South Africa.⁹³ Kitchener had gained massive support and respect from the nation after these victories. He had done his duty to the country and thus



Poster 1: Kitchener says, “Your country needs YOU”



Poster 2: Baden-Powell's "Are YOU in this?"

empire.

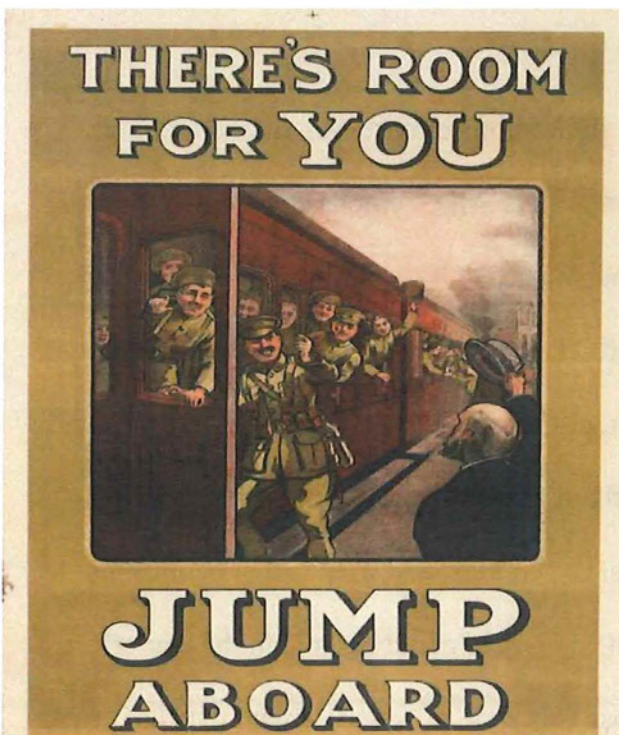
In fact, a man's duty to be loyal and fight for his empire was an overarching theme in almost all of the PRC's recruitment posters. Much emphasis was placed on the individual with statements such as "Kitchener Wants YOU," "Are YOU in this?" and "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?" These posters emphasized a man's duty to the person or group making the statement or, at the very least, appearing on the poster. In Poster 1, it was Kitchener – representing Britain's government – that urged the man to join. In Poster 2, it was the man's neighbors, co-workers, and friends that he must not let down. In Poster 3, it was the man's children who asked about his role in the war effort. Each man had a duty to each of these groups. This style of advertisement read as if each

set an excellent example for men to follow. His pointing finger and straight-faced gaze shamed men into enlisting; they did not want to let a war hero – and, by extension, the country – down. According to historian Gerard DeGroot, the Kitchener poster simultaneously "beckoned, commanded, threatened, cajoled, and shamed" men, and its declaration made the war personal.⁹⁴ Every man had his duty to the Empire; without him, the empire would fall. He must, then, join the army in order to fulfill his duty as protector of the country and

poster were a letter personally addressed to the viewer.⁹⁵ Every man had to do his bit or else the war effort would fail. According to the posters, if Britain lost the war, each individual man would be to blame. No man wanted that burden on his back.

This duty to the empire was further emphasized by posters showing men who were not involved in the war effort as being out of place. For example, this theme can be found in Poster 2, which was designed by Baden-Powell and depicted a man standing at

the side smoking a cigarette while watching other men – and women – do their bit for the



Poster 4: "There's Room for You -- Jump Aboard"



Poster 3: "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?"

war effort.⁹⁶ The man appears a slacker;

he is asked, "Are YOU in this?"

emphasizing his need to join up and do

his part for the war effort.⁹⁷ The

composition of the posters hearkens

back to Baden-Powell's thoughts on the

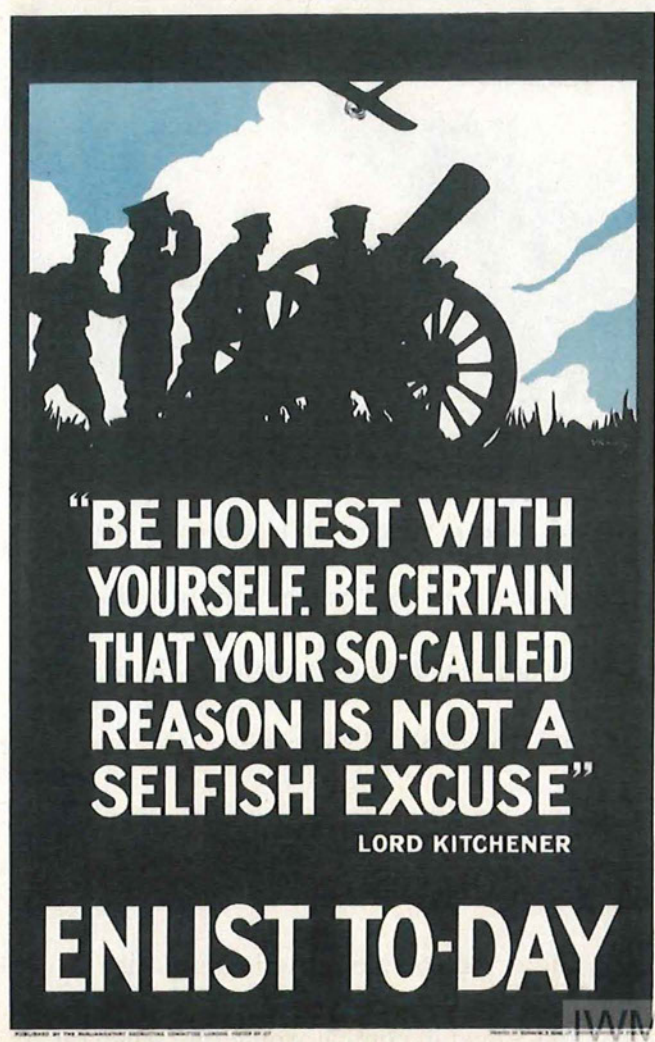
football spectator – the man who is not

doing his bit is a loafer, just like the

men who watch football rather than

participating in the game. The theme of

duty also appeared in Poster 4, which displayed a group of soldiers on a train urging the potential recruit to “jump aboard,” telling him, “There’s room for YOU.”⁹⁸ A true man could not deny their request without risking looking like the outsider in Baden-Powell’s poster. Some men joined up because everyone else was doing it; they feared that if they did not join the group, they would not appear masculine.



Poster 5: This quote from Kitchener encouraged men to "Enlist To-Day"

Men were to be the protectors of Britain and its empire, and this idea was featured heavily in recruitment posters. Recruits were called upon to protect the country from “a brutal and contemptuous aggressor who paid no heed to international treaties or civilised behavior.”⁹⁹ In the posters, men were often seen in battle, illustrating the ways in which a man could participate in defending his country. For instance, Poster 5 paired an image of men firing a cannon with a quote from Lord Kitchener.¹⁰⁰

Kitchener urged men to be sure that their “so-called reason[s]” for not enlisting were not “selfish excuse[s].”¹⁰¹ Men were to think of their fellow men and their country as a

whole. They should forgo their personal needs and desires and recognize that their enlisting in the army would be what was best for the nation.

The importance of each individual man as part of the larger defense against the enemy was stressed in recruitment posters. For example, Poster 6 urged the viewer: "Step Into Your Place."¹⁰² The language implied that each man *had* a place in the army – a

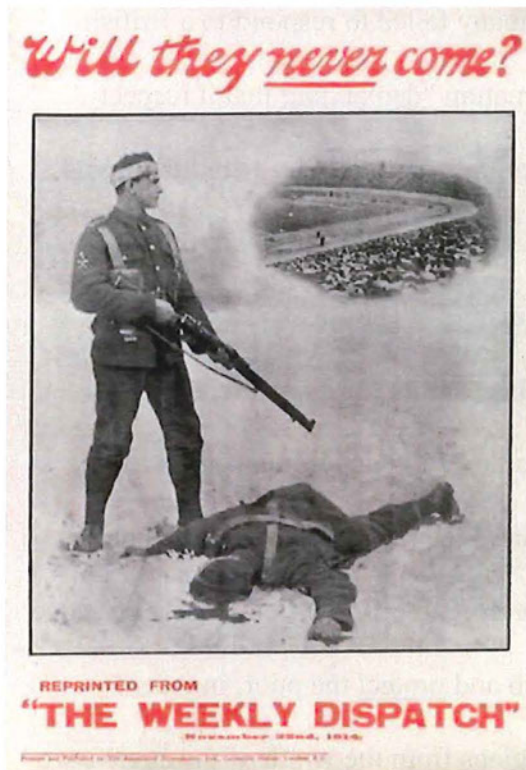
sense of belonging that some men in the lower classes might have never felt prior to the recruitment campaign. The



image depicted the need for men of all classes to step up and do their bit, as well as their ability to do so.

Some men are dressed in business attire, while others appear as though they have been performing manual labor.¹⁰³ Eventually, though, they will all be soldiers, as shown by the gradual shift from men in their everyday attire to men in uniform. Britain needed all men from all backgrounds to protect it from the Central Powers' wrath.

The man's role as a protector of his fellow men on the battlefield was also featured in the posters. Several posters featured a man in combat wondering when others would come to help him. Poster 7, which borrowed an image from Lord Northcliffe's *Weekly Dispatch*, featured such an image alongside an inset of a crowd at a football match.¹⁰⁴ The soldier in the picture wondered, "Will they never come?"¹⁰⁵ It was clear



Poster 7: "Will they never come?" featured in Northcliffe's Weekly Dispatch

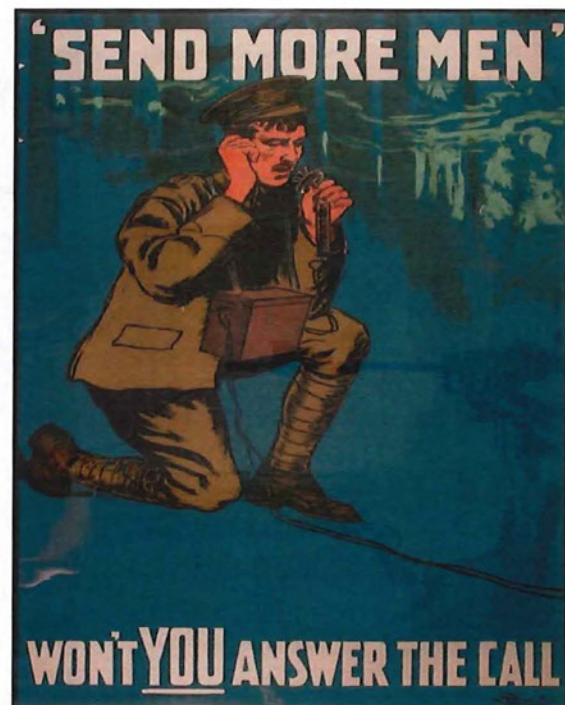
that the soldier needed help – and protection – as one of his fellow soldiers had been killed.¹⁰⁶

In this instance, the PRC alluded not only to the man's role as protector but also to the urgent need for recruits. If Britain wanted to win, it needed more men fast.

Similarly, Poster 8 showed a soldier on the phone, telling the person on the other end of the line to "send more men."¹⁰⁷ Once again, the poster implored each individual man to "answer the call," to go protect his country

l not joined were letting down the men at the front. More men needed to join and help the men who were already on the battlefield in order for Britain to be successful. Once they joined, they could protect their fellow soldiers.

The theme of the defense of Belgium was also prominent in recruitment posters. Posters asked men to "Remember Belgium."¹⁰⁹ Germany's invasion of Belgium served as Britain's moral justification for declaring war on the Central Powers. On August 4, 1914, after



Poster 8: "Send more men"



Poster 9: "Remember the Women of Belgium"

Germany failed to respond to a British ultimatum "demanding that it respect Belgium's neutrality by withdrawing its forces," Britain declared war on Germany.¹¹⁰ The British saw Belgium as unable to fight for itself; Belgium was considered the underdog, sometimes referred to as "plucky little Belgium."¹¹¹ Therefore, the British felt that they needed to go and protect the poor, innocent Belgians from the wrath of the aggressive Germans. Poster 9 reminded men to

"Remember the Women of Belgium."¹¹² Not only was the woman pictured a member of the "weaker sex," but she was also Belgian – she needed double the protection! Poster 10 showed Belgium up in flames, with a woman asking a man, "Will you go or must I?"¹¹³ The poster was aimed specifically at an Irish audience, as both Ireland and Belgium were predominantly Catholic.¹¹⁴ It dually questioned the man's masculinity



Poster 10: A woman asked, "Will you go or must I?"

because of the implications of his reluctance to fight on behalf of Belgium *and* that he might send a woman to fight in his place. Posters urging men to “Remember Belgium” and fight on behalf of the small, seemingly defenseless nation appealed to that notion of the masculine man as protector of the weak.

The man’s role as family breadwinner was featured in recruitment posters. Men were used to working hard to provide for their families. Now, the PRC argued, it was time for them to work hard for their country. Poster 11 featured a picture of the British flag captioned, “It’s Our Flag. Fight for it. Work for it.”¹¹⁵ Potential recruits were urged to take the work ethic they typically employed as the family’s breadwinner and channel it into the war effort as a soldier.

Posters also built upon the separate spheres ideology of the middle classes. It was the man’s place to go off to war while his wife stayed at home fulfilling her domestic duties. Poster 12 pictured two women and a small child looking out the window as a group of soldiers went off to war; the poster read, “Women of Britain say GO.”¹¹⁶ His wife stayed behind to continue managing the home while he went off to battle on both her behalf and Britain’s. The composition of the poster makes a clear reference to separate



Poster 11: Men were encouraged to fight and work for the flag

spheres ideology, with the women standing *inside* the home and the men on the *outside* of the home.



Poster 12: "Women of Britain say GO!"

A man's family was a major part of his life. Therefore, families were prominent in recruitment posters from the beginning. Some of these posters featured women encouraging their men to go to war. In these cases, the government purported to speak on behalf of women, as if to say, "The women say it is okay for you to leave, so why aren't you?" The aforementioned "Women of Britain say GO!" poster was one example of this phenomenon; the poster alluded to

women encouraging their sons and husbands to fight. It assured men that the women of Britain would be alright if the men left home to fight. Poster 13 showed a mother encouraging her son to go off to war, reminding him that it was his duty to the country.¹¹⁷ Using images of women reminded potential recruits of their duty to protect their families. Images of children were used in a similar fashion. For example, Poster 3 depicted a daughter asking her father, "Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?" while her brother played with toy soldiers at their father's feet.¹¹⁸ A man needed to remember his

children; their safety would only be ensured if he went to fight. These posters perhaps encouraged a man to join before anyone else had to shame him into doing so.



Poster 13: "Go! It's your duty lad"

The theme of man as protector of the family also appears in these same posters. Many posters also directly urged men to fight on behalf of the women in their lives because they could not fight for themselves. The PRC encouraged men to think of their wives, mothers, and children by portraying these family members in a manner that implied that they might be in danger if the men did not enlist. Even just picturing these important figures in a man's life on the posters could get him thinking of their need for a protector in wartime – they did not necessarily even have to be shown to be in danger on the poster.

IS YOUR HOME WORTH FIGHTING FOR?



**IT WILL BE TOO LATE TO FIGHT
WHEN THE ENEMY IS AT YOUR DOOR
so JOIN TO-DAY**

HEWITT LIMITED LONDON DUBLIN PARIS

Poster 14: A family in danger is shown in this poster.

Some posters even did explicitly show the danger war posed to the family. For instance, Poster 14, which was circulated in Ireland, depicted two German soldiers invading a family's home. Between the man and the soldiers in the doorway stood his wife and child. The poster stated, "It will be too late to fight when the enemy is at your door."¹¹⁹ This poster implied that it was Belgium that was attacked today and it could easily be Ireland that is attacked tomorrow. Therefore, if a man

wanted his family to have a chance at survival, he needed to join the army immediately. If he did not, he may not be seen as being as masculine as men who did enlist. It was his job as the man of the family to do whatever it took – including military service – to ensure his family's safety.

The importance of physical fitness was also prominent in recruitment posters. Kitchener wanted only the healthiest men for his army. The soldiers featured on many posters had the type of fit physique that Kitchener desired in his men. Poster 15, for example, featured a line of soldiers in exquisite shape.¹²⁰ Like soldiers depicted in similar

posters, they stood tall, with heads held high. Their posture was impeccable. One could tell that the soldiers pictured were muscular – but not *too* muscular – under their uniforms. These images fit the idea that masculine men were physically fit. On this particular poster, a sign stood in the middle of the line of soldiers; it read, “This space is reserved for a fit man.”¹²¹ The army clearly wanted the most physically fit men to fight on behalf of Britain. If a man was not healthy, he was not a real man, nor was he fit to be a soldier.



Poster 15: A line of soldiers left a space "reserved for a fit man."



Poster 16: This soldier is a "happy and satisfied" member of the British army.

Perhaps most prominently featured in the posters was the theme of militarism. The uniform-clad soldier was a central figure in numerous recruitment posters. He was often shown smiling, as if to show how much he was enjoying his role in the war effort. Poster 16 even stated that the pictured soldier was “happy and satisfied” as a member of the army.¹²² Similarly, Poster 17, produced by the Irish Recruiting Campaign, showed an entire crowd of happy



Poster 17: The "happy throng"

soldiers and urged the potential recruit to "join this happy throng off to the front."¹²³ In the posters, war was insinuated to be fun, just like it

was for the soldiers in the literature recruits read as boys.

In fact, recruitment posters often called back to the sense of adventure found in the military tales of their target audience's youth. For example, Poster 18 depicted a knight in shining armor – rather than a soldier – riding a white horse into a battle with a dragon.¹²⁴ The poster declared, "Britain needs you at once."¹²⁵ By utilizing this image in a recruitment poster, the PRC likened soldiers fighting against Germany to a knight fighting a dragon – in other words, it would be the adventure of a lifetime. Men could not resist such an



Poster 18: A knight slays a dragon in this poster, which also tells men, "Britain needs you at once!"

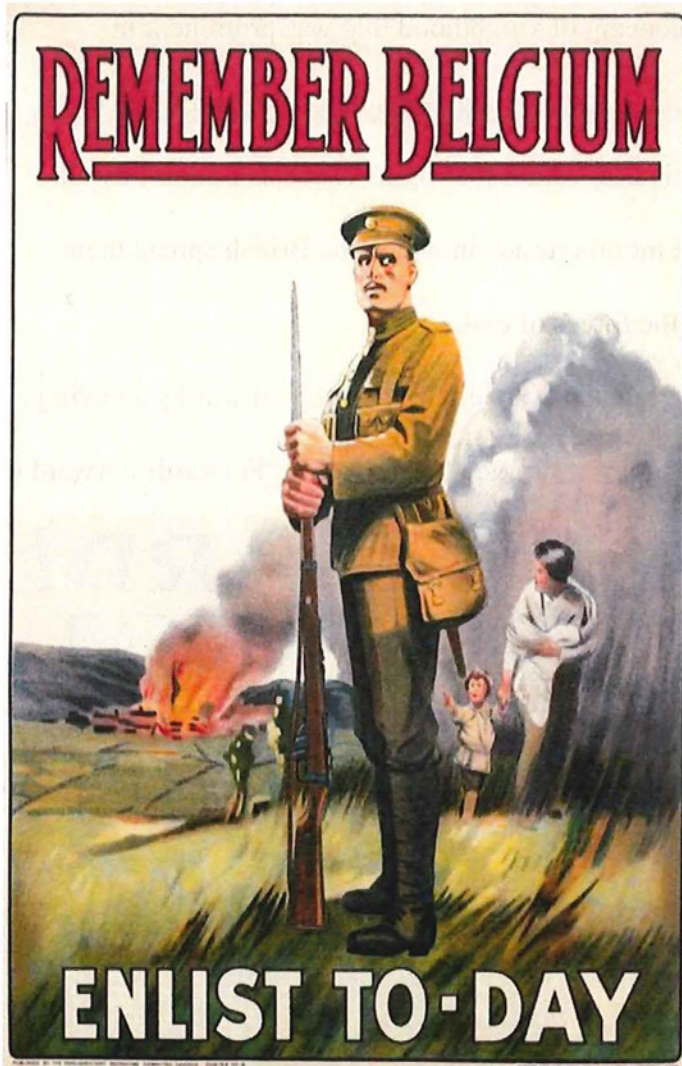
idea. The poster also alluded to the concept of knighthood that was prominent in mythological tales such as King Arthur, which young British men had surely been exposed to as boys, as well as the chivalric values that figures such as Baden-Powell championed. War could be seen as a moral crusade in which the British spread their good, chivalric values and defeated the forces of evil.

Poster 19 also alluded to the potentially adventurous nature of war by showing a soldier holding a sword atop a running horse, framed by the words "Forward! Forward to Victory. ENLIST NOW."¹²⁶ This image made it seem as though men would be riding valiantly into combat on horseback, ready to duel; in reality, however, they would be fighting in the trenches and on tanks. The poster has since been described as "laughably out of date, given the mechanized slaughter that was going on along a static war front."¹²⁷ The landscape featured on the poster appeared flat and calm – almost serene, even – quite the opposite of



Poster 19: "Forward! Forward to Victory!"

what the battlefield actually looked like. But by hearkening back to the adventure stories that British men read as boys, the PRC distorted how the war was actually being fought and made war appear more glamorous and glorious than it was in reality.



Poster 20: A soldier stands in front of the destruction in Belgium

Sanitized versions of war – similar to those that were common in popular culture during the pre-war period – were also quite common in the PRC's posters. Battle was often shown in the background of posters rather than the foreground; the soldier was not typically directly in the line of fire but was, rather, separated from combat. Poster 20, which urged men to "Remember Belgium," employed this tactic. In it, the soldier stood in the foreground, looking stoic.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, the

destruction of war was behind him, in the background of the image.¹²⁹ Though men who agreed to fight would certainly be sent into battle, these sorts of posters made it seem as though they would not be in immediate danger. Other posters, such as Poster 21, distanced the scene of action by using silhouettes rather than full images of men.¹³⁰ This poster depicted the silhouette of a soldier holding a rifle, with several more soldiers' silhouettes in the background.¹³¹ The poster called out, "Think! Are you content for him to fight for YOU? Won't you do your bit? We shall win but YOU must help. JOIN TO-

DAY.”¹³² This poster drew attention *away* from the fighting and back to the man’s duty to his country, the need for him to do his part, and the emasculation that would come with not serving in the army.



Poster 21: "Think!"

It must be noted that many posters appealed not only to a man’s sense of his own masculinity, but also how masculine others perceived him to be. A prominent example of this phenomenon is the “Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?” poster, Poster 3.¹³³ The son’s choice of toy – toy soldiers – was intentional; it showed the role of the military in shaping boys’ ideas of masculinity. The man also did not want his children to think he had been a coward who did not do his part. Poster 22 depicted a son, clad in his Boy Scout uniform, talking to his father.¹³⁴ The poster asked the man, “What will your answer be when your boy asks you – ‘Father, what did YOU do to help when Britain fought for freedom in 1915?’”¹³⁵ Again, the man did not want his children to think he did not do his duty for Britain. In fact, he did not want *anyone* to think he had not done his bit for the

war effort. In a sense, such appeals to a man's sense of pride and his desire for others to perceive him as masculine almost guilted men into joining the army.



Poster 22: What will you tell your son when he asks about your role in the war effort?

Conclusion

Though the PRC's recruitment poster campaign has received significant attention over the past century, historians still debate its success. Though recruitment efforts were moderately successful, conscription did have to be introduced in 1916. Historian Brendan Maartens of Middlesex University cited arguments that the introduction of conscription was "evidence of the 'failure' of the official recruiting campaign," as it was "the final nail in the coffin of the voluntary system."¹³⁶ Additionally, Aulich and Hewitt argue that as a strategy to encourage sufficient men to voluntarily join up, the PRC campaign should be considered a failure.¹³⁷ Part of the campaign's weakness, they claim, is that a large

segment of the population was disgusted by its attempt to “sell war like any other commodity.”¹³⁸ This portion of the population felt increasingly alienated by its message over the course of 1915.¹³⁹ However, other historians have recognized that the period of voluntary enlistment actually had the highest rate of military enrollment in British history.¹⁴⁰ More men enlisted during the first seventeen months of the war than during its final thirty-four months – thus, voluntary enlistment was, according to Maartens, “twice as effective at generating manpower as conscription.”¹⁴¹ Though the rate of volunteers did gradually decline in 1915, some historians argue that the decline might have been steeper and happened more suddenly if voluntary enrollment had not been promoted.¹⁴² Perhaps recruitment numbers would not have been as high *without* the attempts to sell war, as posters did resonate with men who felt a strong sense of patriotism and a sense of duty to serve their country or who wanted to embark on the adventure of war. The campaign could also be considered a success in its ability to transcend the divides – such as those between the social classes – that were so prominent in British society at the time. Regardless of their income, family situation, or occupation, men went to recruiting offices in droves, hoping to do their part for the British war effort.

However, Aulich and Hewitt argued that another part of the campaign’s “failure” was its ignorance of its intended audience. According to their argument in *Seduction or Instruction?*, the PRC’s recruitment efforts were “sanctioned by the professional middle class and carried out by the commercial middle class.”¹⁴³ It made sense, therefore, that the posters attempted to appeal to middle class ideas and values. However, Aulich and Hewitt asserted that the campaign was *not* targeted primarily at the middle classes but at the working class. They claimed that this audience did not share the middle classes’

“uncritical enthusiasm for the values of monarchism, patriotism, imperialism, and militarism” that were prevalent throughout the recruitment poster campaign.¹⁴⁴ While Aulich and Hewitt are accurate in recognizing the working class as a target audience for the posters, saying that these values did not appeal to the working class is not entirely true. The middle classes were indeed the ones who determined the specific set of ideal values; however, the working class also subscribed to these ideals, though its members were less likely to be able to attain them.

Regardless of the arguments claiming the campaign to be a success or a failure, the fact is that historians cannot ever know just how effective the poster campaign itself was in gaining recruits. The degree of the PRC’s recruiting campaign did not lie solely in its use of posters. The use of meetings, popular songs, house-to-house calls, celebrity appearances, and other methods of recruitment also played their respective parts in contributing to the PRC’s efforts. Recruits were also influenced by outside groups, such as the Order of the White Feather, and unprecedented participation of civilians in the drive for recruits. Therefore, it is impossible to measure the impact of the posters because each man’s reason for joining was not recorded.

However, much of the campaign’s success – whatever amount of success one considers it to have had – can be attributed to its employment of the themes of masculinity discussed in this thesis. The PRC crafted its recruitment posters with contemporary views of masculinity in mind. Being viewed as a “real” man was a large part of a British man’s identity in the pre-war years. Therefore, the Committee knew that more men would join if they thought they would be emasculated if they did not join. For this reason, it included appeals to the male population’s sense of manliness — the themes

of duty, protection, and patriotism. The contemporary idealized masculinity had been developing since the Victorian era. Literature of the time period, youth organizations, team sports, and school doctrine all influenced boys' perceptions of what it meant to be a man.

¹ Martyn Thatcher and Anthony Quinn, *Kitchener Wants You: The Man, the Poster, and the Legacy* (London: Uniform, 2016), 19.

² David M. Rose, David H. Bearce, and Patrick J. McDonald, "Binding Prometheus: How the 19th Century Expansion of Trade Impeded Britain's Ability to Raise an Army," *International Studies Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2002): 553.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Alan G.V. Simmonds, *Britain and World War One* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 41.

⁵ Ibid., 45.

⁶ Roy Douglas, "Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee," *The Journal of Modern History* 42, no. 4 (1970): 570.

⁷ Simmonds, *Britain and World War One*, 46.

⁸ Douglas, "Voluntary Enlistment...", 570.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Gerard J. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1996), 50.

¹¹ Ian Beckett, Timothy Bowman, and Mark Connelly, *The British Army and the First World War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 99.

¹² Simmonds, *Britain and World War One*, 47.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Nicoletta F. Gullace, "White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War," *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 2 (1997): 178.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 332.

¹⁷ John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 44.

¹⁸ Keith McClelland, "Masculinity and the 'Representative Artisan' in Britain, 1850-80," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 79.

¹⁹ Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class," 49.

²⁰ Martin Francis, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 639.

²¹ Ibid., 642.

²² J.A. Mangan, "Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 138.

²³ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), 60.

²⁴ DeGroot, *Blighty*, 35.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Levens, "Constructing Elite Identities," 155.

²⁷ J.A. Mangan, "Duty Unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism," in *Tribal Identities* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 15.

- ²⁸ Robert A. Nye, "Western Masculinities in War and Peace," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (2007): 420.
- ²⁹ Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society," 341.
- ³⁰ Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 5.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Mangan, "Duty Unto Death," 16.
- ³³ Ibid., 18.
- ³⁴ Meyer, *Men of War*, 6.
- ³⁵ Mangan, "Duty Unto Death," 25.
- ³⁶ Deirdre H. McMahon, "'Quick, Ethel, Your Rifle!': Portable Britishness and Flexible Gender Roles in G.A. Henty's Books for Boys," *Studies in the Novel* 42, nos. 1-2 (2010): 157.
- ³⁷ Mangan, "Duty Unto Death," 25.
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- ⁴¹ Ibid., 91.
- ⁴² Ibid., 96.
- ⁴³ Mangan, "Duty Unto Death," 24.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 24.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
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- ⁵⁰ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 56.
- ⁵¹ Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement," 936.
- ⁵² Ibid., 938.
- ⁵³ Ibid., 939.
- ⁵⁴ Niko Besnier, "Sports, Bodies, and Futures: An Epilogue," *The Contemporary Pacific* 26, no. 2 (2014): 435.
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- ⁵⁶ DeGroot, *Blighty*, 32.
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